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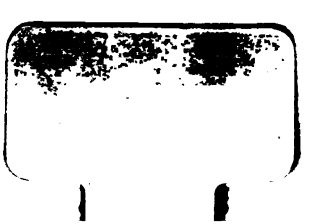
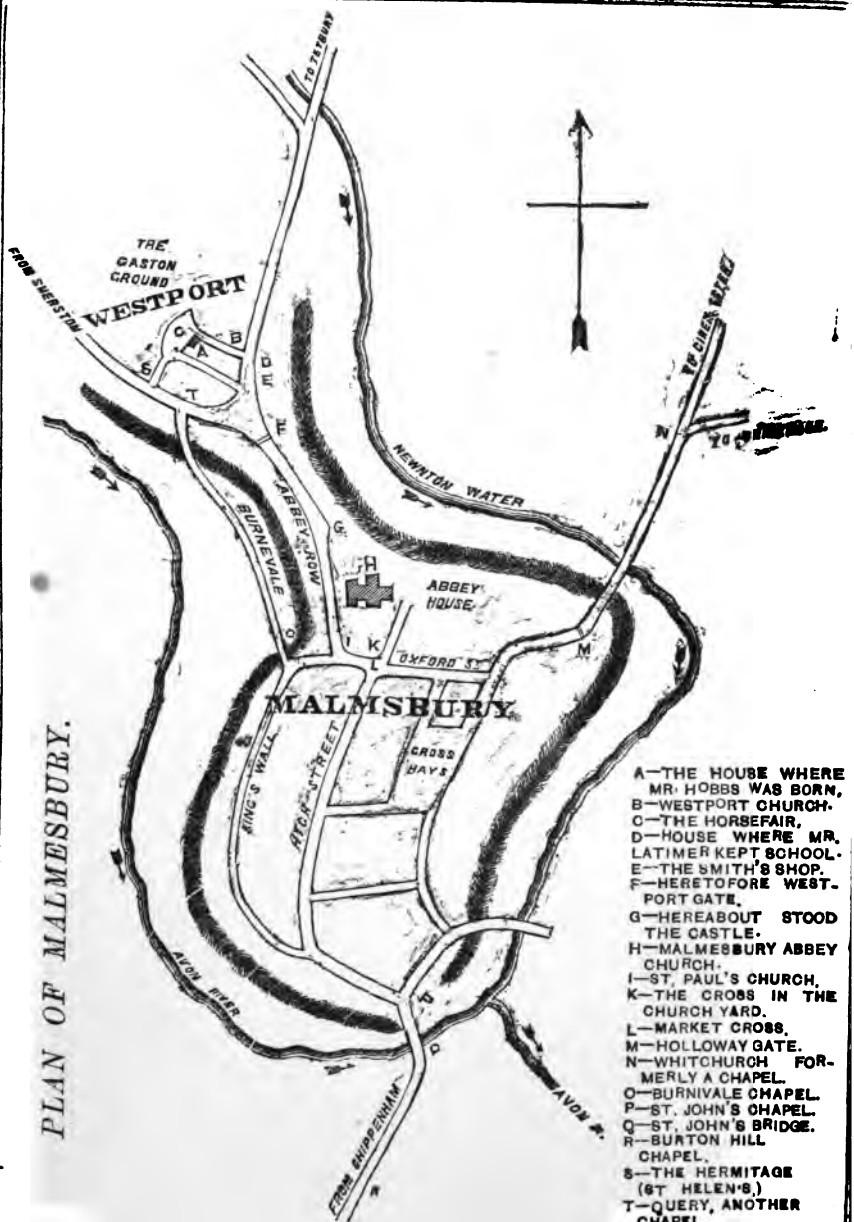
BENEDICTINE ABBEY
OF S. ALDHELM,
MALMESBURY.

WALCOTT.

G. A. Wills.
8° 35

Gough Addn Wilts
8° 35




PLAN OF MALMESBURY.
THE GASTON GROUND
WESTPORT
FROM SWINDON
TO SWINDON
TO CIRENCESTER
FROM SHERSTON
NEWNTON WATER
BURNEVALE
ABBEY ROW
ABBEY HOUSE
OXFORD ST.
MALMSBURY
HIGH STREET
CROSS WAYS
KING'S WALL
AVON RIVER
FROM CHIPPENHAM
TO BATH
A—THE HOUSE WHERE MR. HOBBS WAS BORN.
B—WESTPORT CHURCH.
C—THE HORSEFAIR.
D—HOUSE WHERE MR. LATIMER KEPT SCHOOL.
E—THE SMITH'S SHOP.
F—HERETOFORE WESTPORT GATE.
G—HEREABOUT STOOD THE CASTLE.
H—MALMESBURY ABBEY CHURCH.
I—ST. PAUL'S CHURCH.
K—THE CROSS IN THE CHURCH YARD.
L—MARKET CROSS.
M—HOLLOWAY GATE.
N—WHITCHURCH FORMERLY A CHAPEL.
O—BURNIVALE CHAPEL.
P—ST. JOHN'S CHAPEL.
Q—ST. JOHN'S BRIDGE.
R—BURTON HILL CHAPEL.
S—THE HERMITAGE (ST HELEN'S.)
T—QUERY, ANOTHER CHAPEL.

THE MITRED

BENEDICTINE ABBEY

OF S. ALDHELM,

MALMESBURY.

A GUIDE-MEMOIR

BY

MacKENZIE E. C. WALCOTT, B.D., F.S.A.,

PRECENTOR AND PREBENDARY OF CHICHESTER.

"I'll view the manners of the town;
"Peruse the traders; gaze upon the buildings."—*Shakspeare.*

J. T. BIRD,
MARKET CROSS AND OXFORD STREET, MALMESBURY.

1876.

(not published till 1881, according to a Malmesbury bookseller, May 1881.)

PREFACE.

ON a recent visit to Malmesbury I found, to my surprise, that there was no provision for the information of strangers, who, like myself, revere the monuments of ancient piety. At the cost of some pains and research I, therefore, beg to offer this labour of love as a companion to those who might otherwise be without a chart. One practical and timely suggestion I would, in all kindness, make, as the town, owing to the formation of the branch railway from Dauntsey, will be no longer sequestered from the great highway to the West, and a large influx of visitors, drawn by the single attraction of the Abbey, may be naturally expected. There is urgent need not only of restorations and preservative measures, but of the removal of certain anomalies which now foster destructiveness and the spirit of irreverence in holy things making a dissight and offence. The Church should be made, if it cannot always be open, at least easily accessible, with a special care-taker who would love and respect the whole site, as sacred and historic; whilst, as in several other churches, the names of visitors should be entered into a book, and their offerings received in a box, containing an intimation that the money would be devoted to the good work of repair and precaution against further injury to the fabric.

MALMESBURY.

The town of Malmesbury, one of the most picturesque in England, stands upon a hill, rising out of lowlands watered by little streams and runnels; formerly it had fortifications, the memory of which remains in the name of King's Wall on the south; four gates (a fragment still survives in Holloway, on the Cirencester road); and, until the reign of King John, a castle also, where Abbey Row now stands. The suburb of Westport marks the site of the western entrance. Down the steep street, near the "King's Arms" Hotel, rode the last of the abbots on his way to the only home left him, among the noisy Bristol streets; and along Oxford Street, the black-frocked Benedictine students took their way, to study in their modest priory at Oxford. There are several old houses, a beautiful, although mouldering octagonal

market-cross of the close of the 15th century, which in Leland's time was "a right fair and costly piece of work;" and the Early English archway of the Chapel of the Lazar Hospital of St. John still stands at the southern entrance of the town, on the site once occupied by a convent of nuns, which was built by famous Abbot Dinoth of Bangor.*

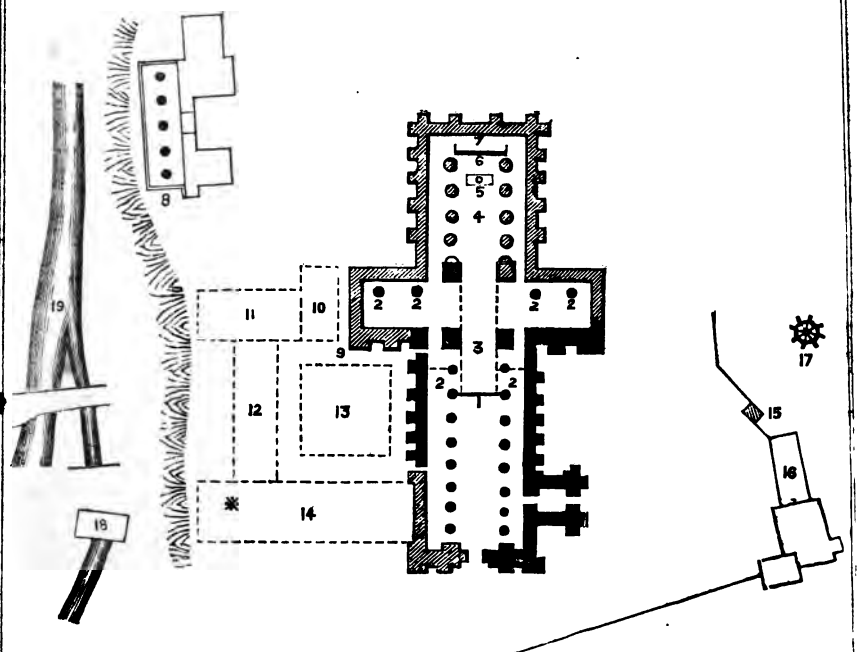
The gallantry and good service of the men of Malmesbury, in the great victory at Sodbury Hill, over their old enemies the Danes, who had burned their houses, procured the favour of King Athelstan,† and the town received a royal charter. In later times the martial Bishop Roger, of Salisbury, fortified the castle in 1139, and in 1152 Prince Henry of Anjou worsted King Stephen beneath its walls. In 1643 King Charles I. lodged in the "Banquetting House" in Holloway, on his road to Cirencester.

As Tewkesbury and Bury St. Edmund's are named after a local worthy, or saint, so Mældulph's Bury grew up round a hermit's cell; and, as at St. Alban's and Westminster, the church was first built, and the town followed in due time.

The Chantulary contains a few names of sites in the 13th century; Heathwall, between Southgate and Little Wyneierd's Gate; Boruhtone; Bridge Letheyn; the Postern; the lane to Le Barre; Griffin Lane; Phillippeslane; Thornhulle; Gialda of Westport;

* Leland's Collect., i. 304; ii. 395. † Ibid, Itin. vii, p. 96.

GROUND PLAN OF THE ABBEY.



1—ROOD LOFT
2—CHAPELS
3—RITUAL CHOIR
4—PRESBYTERY
5—HIGH ALTAR
6—SHRINE OF S. ALDHELM
7—LADY CHAPEL
8—INFIRMARY HALL
9—SLYPE
10—CHAPTER HOUSE
11—DORMITORY
12—REFECTORY
*—KITCHEN
13—CLOISTER GARTH
14—CELLERAGE WITH GUEST HOUSE OVER
15—GATE HOUSE
16—S. PAUL'S PARISH CHURCH
17—MARKET CROSS
18—MILL
19—NEWNTON WATER

Gialda de Binport; Westport in Burnivale; the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen; All Saints' Chapel, facing High Street; and the street to Yngelborne.* The market, hitherto held in the cemetery and outside of it every Saturday, was removed to the New Market in 1223.† In 1216 King John permitted the abbot to destroy the Castle and build on the site,‡ and the abbot paid for the fee farm of the hundred 60 marks, and for that of the town £20 yearly to the crown.§

HISTORY OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE ABBEY.

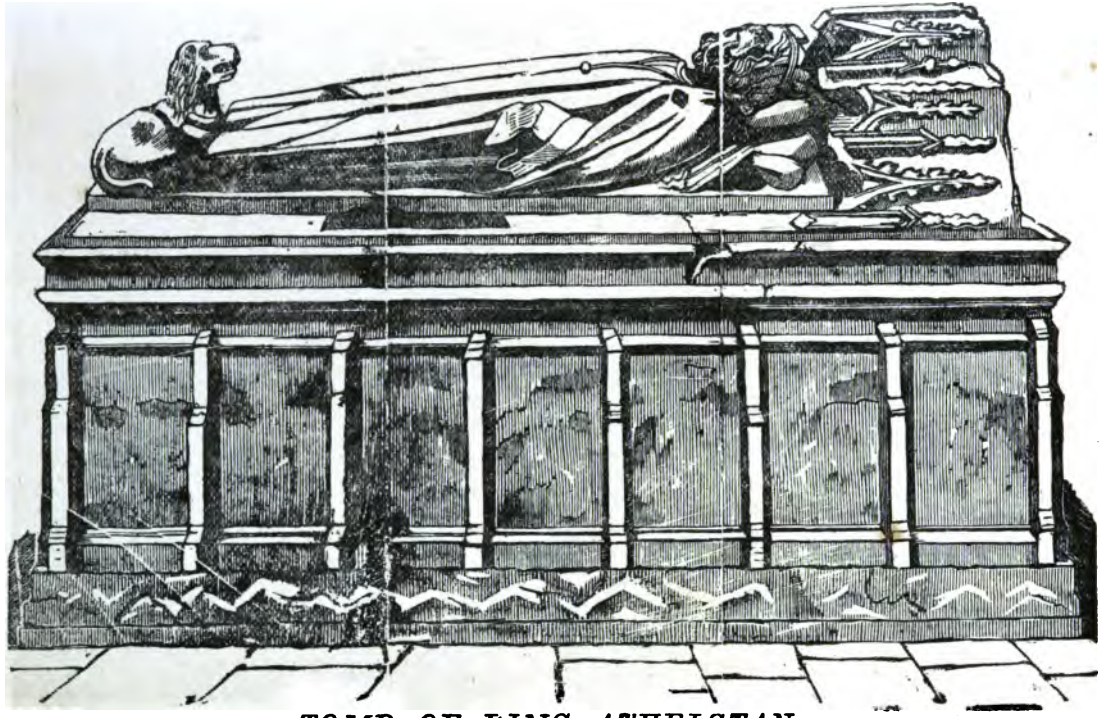
A thousand years ago and more, on the summit of the hill, on which the fragments of Malmesbury Abbey now stand there was a fortified camp which bore the name first of Caer Bladen, and afterwards was called Ingelborne Castle.‖ Here King Donewald, of Damnonia, kept his state until he was driven out by his old pagan rival, Gormund, who destroyed all the churches within his domain. The river Bladon flowed below it, and beneath its shelter in Burnivale Meldum, or Mældulph, a Scot, a monk and philosopher, driven forth by raids of robbers from the western highlands, which had been colonised by the Irish missionaries, built a little hermitage. About 637, according to the "Eulogium," a group of scholars was gathered at

* Exch. Q. R. xxiv, fo. 68, 273, &c. † Ro. Litt. Claus. 537. ‡ Ro. Claus. 213 b., 222. § Ro. Litt. Pat. 187. ‖ Eulog. Hist., i. 226.

his feet, and the chair of the master was set up under the shadow of a small basilica or chapel, probably of wood, which was preserved even in the 12th century, and the convent, for such it had become, removed into a nobler church dedicated to our blessed Lord, SS. Peter and Paul, and built by S. Aldhelm, who had come as a pupil, and, as William of Malmesbury says, attracted, in his turn, a large concourse of scholars and admiring visitors.* It was built of solid masonry, and known both as S. Saviour's and S. Peter's;† near it, that is, probably westward, was the stone-vaulted church of S. Mary, which had a tower; besides another of S. Michael in the cemetery, forming, it is likely, the charnel chapel, mentioned elsewhere.

Malmesbury says, the whole fabric of the Minster, famous and unharmed, stood up to his time§ superior in size and beauty to every ancient church in England. It had a stone vault and ceiling of timber, and a fond superstition pointed to a beam which the saint lengthened to adapt it to its place, (just as at Christ Church, Twyneham, a heavenly workman, was believed to have intervened in a similar disaster;) indeed, here it was believed to have escaped in two great fires, which occurred in the reigns of Alfred and Edward.|| King Athelstan buried his cousins, Elwine and Ethelwyne, on either side of the altar, and he, himself, was buried "in the greater church," beneath S. Mary's altar in the

* Leland. Itin. vii. 96. Reiner, Apost. Bened. 20. Gesta Pont. lib. v. s. 197. † Ibid, s. 243. § Ibid, s. 216. || Eulog. Hist. iii. 2.



TOMB OF KING ATHELSTAN.

tower.* The devout king was laid to his rest, at the close of October, 949, not as his grandfather, the great Alfred, clad him as a boy in a scarlet cloak, a diamond-studded belt, and a Saxon sword in a golden scabbard, but with all honour and decent pomp. Before the bier, in solemn procession, were carried relics of the saints which he had brought from Bretagne, and noble gifts of gold and silver to be laid up in the Minster treasury. He had desired to sleep within these walls for "the good success he received "from that town against the Danes, and for the sake "of holy St. Aldhelm," at the head of whose tomb his own grave was made.† He gave good cause to be remembered as the donor of the "King's Heath" to the Commoners of Malmesbury. S. Aldhelm's chapel stood in the abbot's garden.

The monks had, previous to this date, removed into S. Mary's Church, although S. Peter's continued to be regarded as the principal church; their object was to be nearer S. Michael's Church, in which S. Aldhelm had prepared his grave. He died in 705. From Doulting the remains of the departed saint were carried hither, by the care of S. Egwyn, Bishop of Worcester. Crowds followed the bier and gazed with loving eyes on the sweet expression and calm beauty of the dreamless face, which soothed their sorrow. At

‡ Wm. of Malm., sect. 246. † Ib. Gesta Reg. lib. ii. sects. 141, 136. Leland Coll. i. 142, ii. 299. Comp. Willis', Glastonbury.

intervals of seven miles stone crosses were set up, where the large procession rested; these ("Bishop's Stones" as they were called), were carefully preserved, except one which was removed into the cloister of Malmesbury.

Warin de Lyra, a Norman abbot, took offence at the stone shrines with wooden partitions which contained the remains of Mældulph and other English worthies being placed on either side of the high altar, and threw them into the furthest corner in this chapel of S. Michael, which he had widened and enlarged. For a space of 246 years the saint lay in S. Michael's church. A fourth church, that of S. Andrew, probably parochial, was attached to S. Peter's.* In the early part of the eleventh century Archbishop Constantine and Abbot Brithwald were buried in S. Andrew's Church, and not—according to custom—in S. Michael's Chapel. About the same time the Cloister is mentioned. As at S. Alban's and York this collateral church may have joined the nave on the north-west side. Leominster has a similar adjunct in a southern aisle. On the south side of the transept probably was the church of S. Lawrence, in which the famous John the Scot, witty and wise, the friend of Charles the Bald of France, was done to death by the pointed styles of his pupils. † His body was afterwards removed, and, as Hoveden tells us, a

* Ibid, section 238. † Ibid, section 241.

miraculous light floated above the grave of the murdered scholar. This grouping of several churches within the precinct occurred also at Abingdon, Bury St. Edmund's, Glastonbury, and Twyneham.

The feud between monks and secular canons reached Malmesbury in 955, when King Edwy, as the Benedictine chronicler bitterly says "made the convent into lay-stalls of clerks."* They, no doubt, occupied S. Peter's Church, at least, they exhumed S. Aldhelm and placed his relics in a superb shrine, which King Ethelwolph had given a century before; the front was of solid silver wrought with figures; the back was enriched with embossed representations of his miracles; and, over all, was a cresting of crystal work, with the saint's name inscribed in letters of gold. "The fabrics of monasteries had become ruinous, and the shingled roofs moss-grown," types of carelessness within, if we may believe the partisan of monks, King Edgar, who, in 974, restored the Benedictines to the secondary minster, which, probably, had been deserted by the Canons, and henceforth by the Abbot Elfric's orders, was to bear conjointly the names of S. Mary and S. Aldhelm. † It was now given precedence over S. Peter's church; he also built the offices or conventual buildings.‡ S. Dunstan presented bells

* Wm. of Malmesbury, sections 251, 236. † Ibid, sect. 253.
‡ He also appears to have restored it. [Ib. Gesta Reg. ii. sect. 138, compared with Gesta Pontif. lib. v. sect. 246.] Sect. 258.

and organs, and a holy water vat. In 986, apprehensive of the coming of the Danes, he removed the relics of S. Aldhelm from the shrine into a stone structure* raised on high, at the right side of the altar, and placed beside it a casket filled with the sweetest balsam. At length the dreaded Northmen came, and one bolder than the rest drew his sword and was about to hack the precious stones from the shrine when he fell stark as if smitten by some unearthly blow.† The Danes fled in dismay, and among all the neighbouring monasteries Malmesbury was the only one which escaped sacrilege. Leland states that the Saint's body had been secretly interred in the Chapter House for safe keeping, during nearly a century, and in 1049 with other relics was replaced in the old position on the right side of the altar.‡ A crypt or new work is mentioned about this date. §

Such are all the documentary notices that we possess of the arrangements of the monastery, which Herman, the Fleming, chaplain to the royal confessor, and Bishop of Ramsbury, coveted as his see in 1055.‖ The monks, in high alarm, besought the powerful interposition of Earl Godwin, and the scheme, which had the king's consent, came to nought. Herman however built a bell tower of masonry,¶ before he commenced the building of his cathedral on the bleak

* Sects. 255, 267 † Ibid, sect. 256. ‡ Collect ii. 504; iii. 305. § Ibid, sect, 277. ‖ Hoveden, i. 102. ¶ Wm. of Malmesbury, lib. ii. sect. 83. Eulog. Hist. i. 262.

hill of Old Sarum. Years after, the harrying of the rents of the Abbey by the Bishops of Salisbury was a bye-word at Evesham, which enhanced mutual goodly feeling with Malmesbury, as appears by a record in the British Museum.* Bishop Hubert Walter, in 1190, on the royal authority, once more claimed the Abbey, but the abbot refused to lay down his name and staff, producing a counter mandate from Richard Cœur de Lion, and the wary chancellor before whom the cause was argued deferred judgment until the return of the king from the Holy Land; and there the matter ended.†

THE ABBEY OF S. ALDHELM.

Although the town bears the name of Mældulph, the church, when rebuilt, was called by the name of S. Aldhelm.‡ He was the son of well-born parents, who were of the royal family of Wessex, and a pupil of S. Adrian, abbot of S. Augustine's, Canterbury, with whom he studied Latin and Greek; he then joined Mældulph, and after a time founded the monasteries of S. John Baptist at Frome; S. Peter's, Bruton, and S. Lawrence, Bradford; and the great abbey at Glastonbury was rebuilt at his suggestion. Leuthe-

* Chron. de Evesham, 1204, p. 139. † Ricard. Divis. section 17. ‡ In 1199. Rot. Chart. p. 23, and in the 13th century. Exch. Q. R, Chart. xxiv, ff. 2. 11 b., and by W. of Wyrcestre, Ed. Nasmythe, p. 283. 1763.

rius, bishop of the West Saxons ordained him priest and appointed him abbot of Malmesbury, in 673. He was growing old and feeble when, against his wish, he was consecrated to the see of Sherborne by the primate, in 705.* One of his latest acts was to rebuild his cathedral church, but his name is more specially associated with Malmesbury, where his festival was yearly kept by order of Archbishop Lanfranc. Then during the out-door procession of the shrine, and the attendant fair granted by King William I. for five days, (to which three were added by Queen Matilda to include the feast-day eve and octave), a motley and troublesome crowd was collected which led to so many indecorous scenes, that the town had to maintain a guard of armed men to keep order. † On the Sunday after Pentecost, 1087, the great Bishop Oswald, of Sarum, with Abbot Warin, and Serlo, Abbot of S. Peter's, Gloucester, translated S. Aldhelm into a shrine.‡ This act preceded the rebuilding of the church when the dedication of S. Mary was transferred to a parish church in Westport, and a second church of S. Paul was built instead of the ancient minster of S. Saviour and S. Peter. The old conventual seal, however, retained the traditional title of S. Mary.

Strange legendary tales of signs and miracles

* Bede H. E., lib. v, c. 18. † Leland Itin. ii. 52.
‡ Wm. of Malm., v, sect. 266.

devised in later ages, hang round his memory and shrine, where the wonderful chasuble was shown,—a crimson vestment delicately-wrought with peacocks standing inside little wheels of black,—which he suspended on a sunbeam, when absorbed in meditation. When in peril, during the Battle at Brunanburgh King Athelstan called upon his name. The head of S. Ouen in a costly chef or shrine; the relics of S. Patern reverenced in the old see of Llanbadarn; the cross which King Athelstan wore round his neck in battle; the sword which an angel placed in the king's hand amid the fray; a portion of the crown of thorns from Calvary, and a fragment of the holy cross set in thick untransparent crystal were set around his tomb. But more than his accomplishments, more than his knowledge of law learned at Rome, his treatises, or his poetry; more honourable to him than having princes, Alfred the Wise, of Northumbria, and Archibald, King of Scots, among his correspondents, or the great King Alfred for his biographer, is his earnest devotion to God. There was a household song in every mouth which was called by his name, and it is said that whilst the half barbarous people used to throng out of church without paying much attention to the sermons, he was wont to go and take his seat on the bridge over the Avon * with harp in hand, and offer to teach the art of singing. Here a crowd soon gathered round him, and after he had won

* Wm. of Malm., lib. v. sect. 191.

their ear by some light song, would chant the words of Holy Writ, and bring them to sing the better songs of the Psalmist.

S. Aldhelm's Feast was kept with "ruling of the choir," on May 25, by the Sarum use, a distinction conceded only to two other English Saints Augustin and Dunstan.* The local name of S. Aldhelm's Mead, on the south side of the town still keeps his memory green.

ENDOWMENTS OF THE ABBEY.†

The church, no doubt, prospered and grew, for the benefactors included kings and prelates. Leutherius, on August 26th, 675, bestowed lands; Kenfrith, Earl of the Mercians, in 681, gave Wdetun [Wootton]; Ethelred, King of Mercia, in 681, added Tettan and Niventon [Newnton]; Berthwald, his nephew, bestowed Sumerford [Keynes], on July 30th, 685; Cedwalla added Kemele [Kemble), Crudeville, [Crudwell]; Cerletune [Charlton], and Piritune [Purton], on August 19th, 688;† King Ina, in 701, was the donor of Corsaburne [Corston], Iserdun [Garsden], and Redburne [Rodburn], Burton and Cowfold, afterwards the

* Harl. MS. 1001, fo. 121, b. † Will. of Malm., Gesta Pontif.: Lansd. MS. 417; Add M.S. 15, 667. MS. Cotton, Faust., B. viii. Min. Acc. 31 and 32 Hen. VIII, No. 150, M. 96; No. 71, M. 41; Archæol. xxxviii. 257—303. Kemble Cod. Dipl. Charters to 844. Taxatio Eccles. 1291. Valor Eccles. ii. 118-122. Exch. Q.R. Chart. vol. xxiv.

Abbot's Park. But the chief of all was S. Aldhelm, K. Ina's kinsman. He endowed his abbey with an estate so large that it was said it would take a man a good part of the day if he set out early in the morning to go round its borders. King Kinewulph, in 758, granted lands at the meeting of the Mearden and Rotburne; King Ethelwulph's charter on April 22nd, 854, added to other gifts Toccanham, Dantesey, and Lacock, and in the following year Minty. King Alfred possibly added Chelworth; King Ethelstan in 937, bestowed Kemell, Ewrugge, Horton, and Ewelme; King Edwy gave Brokneburgh [Brokenborough], in 956, and in 974 King Edgar restored the lost lands at Eastcott, and Ethelred, in 982. enlarged its possessions. In Domesday, in 1081, S. Mary's, Malmesbury, held, besides these lands, Heivei [Hywaye], Norton, Brecheorde [Brinkworth], Gardone, the gift of Queen Matilda [Garsden], Breme [Bremhill], Littleton, Gloucestershire, and Newbold county Warwick, producing an income of £138 5s. 10d. K. Offa had robbed the abbey of Tetbury and Purton, but Abbot Colerne obtained the restoration of S. Mary's, Purton, with fifty marks a year, in 1260, and in 1265 Bishop Walter granted All Saints' Church, Kemele and forty marks, for the relief of the poor and entertainment of guests, as the Abbey funds could not maintain its various hospitalities, its largess in alms, and divers works of charity. Among other charges on its resources, Edward I. is found desiring

the convent to find keep for six harriers and two grooms until his further pleasure. Abbot Colerne added to the possessions Blakelond (to augment the income of the kitchen), Colerne, Fouleswick, Avon, mills, and houses in Fleet Street, London.* Besides these, and pensions out of churches, the "Valor" enumerates Earsden, Cokenham, Whitchurch, Stockley, Chegelow, Thornhill, Clevedon, Lee, Sutton, Foxham, Thickwood, Segre, Gretenham, Wanborough, Ashley, Shersston Parva, Plumweir near Tintern, and tenements in Holborn, London, besides many a well built Grange. The church patronage included the town chnrches; Holy Trinity, Newnton; S. Vincent's, Backhampton; Compton; S. Michael's, Brinkworth; S. James', Pilton, Corston; S. John Baptist, Brokenborough; All Saints', Crudwell; All Saints', Garsdon; S. Mary's, Rodbourne; S. Mary's, Radburne; Holy Cross, Hankerton; S. Giles, Stanton; S. Leonard's, Minety, till 1260, and until the middle of the 13th eentury Bremhill, each church being served by a secular Vicar.†

ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE ABBEY.

Charters we possess, but there is a deep silence over the architectural history of the church. Probably the Norman abbots at first absorbed the adjacent S. Mary's into the principal minster of S. Peter and

* Excheq. Q. R. Chart. xxiv, fo. 2, 1663. † Cartularies of the Abbey.

then commenced to rebuild the whole at the close of the 11th century, shortly after Herman's Bell Tower had been added to the pile.*

At Worcester S. Wolstan, in 1084, built a new church, near the older minster of S. Mary erected by S. Oswald in 983. The detached churches and chapels, which resembled the group at Christ Church Hants, Abingdon, and S. Edmund's Bury, finally gave place to a great minster church, whilst the ancient dedications were retained in S. Paul's and S. Mary's, Westport, for in many similar cases the Benedictines erected a parish church near their minster, as at Westminster, Bury St. Edmund's, and Worcester.

The minster consisted of a nave of nine bays, a transept, which may have had eastern apsidal chapels, a central tower, an eastern limb or presbytery of five bays, including a procession way, and a Lady Chapel; the dimensions tally with those of William of Wyrcestre, taken in the reign of Henry VI. The length of the entire building, of which I subjoin a plan, was 332ft.; the nave measured 148 by 68ft.; the tower formed a crossing 45ft. square, the eastern limb was 82ft. in length, and a Lady Chapel 57 by 15ft.; each wing of the transept was 35ft. 9in. in depth.

The earliest date assigned for the commencement of the building is the year 1135, when Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, is assumed, on the authority of a

* Eulog. Hist. iii. 61, 108, 301.

doubtful passage in William of Malmesbury, to have been an ecclesiastical founder as well as a builder of a strong castle immediately adjoining the church on the north west. The badge of King Stephen, the Sagittarius, certainly appears on the western doorway, but then it is quite possible also that it may have formed only one piece in a series, the Signs of the Zodiac. In the time of King John the abbey received the grant of the castle. In 1215 King John gave the Castle to abbot Loryng, together with a great tower built by Bishop Roger, which stood within a stone's throw of the minster tower, and no doubt its materials were applied to church work. In the interior the present nave, with its rich zigzag ornament and intersecting arcade, dates between 1115 and 1160, but there were interruptions, as the eastern arches are later than their capitals. A splendid opportunity was lost two centuries later, when the abbots of Malmesbury, Bristol, and Kingswode, refused to inter the body of the murdered King Edward II. which lay at Berkeley Castle, and the bold abbot of Gloucester brought a car decked out with the arms of his church, and bore it to honourable burial, while the funds that flowed in from pilgrims enabled its monks to render their church one of the finest in the realm.* The vaulting of the aisles is of the 12th century; the pointed arches and triforium date about 1140-1150. The cornice above the arches with an inverted Greek Tau

* Hist. S. Petri, Glouc. i. 44.

is very uncommon; the sub-arches, also in the two eastern bays, have a band of rich additional ornamentation to mark the position of the ritual choir.

During the Decorated period a goodly vault of stone, quadripartite with beautiful bosses of foliage, was constructed; the lofty Norman clerestory was replaced with windows filled with geometrical tracery; flying buttresses with foliated pediments, recessed behind the parapet, and crowned with tall pinnacles, which are battlemented at the base, supported the additional weight; a floriated parapet of trefoiled open work was added on the south along the walls of the main structure and the aisle; and a curious external staircase of twenty-four steps, blocking the clerestory windows, connected the blind-storey wall-passage of the transept with the flat roof of the nave. A stone vault, it would appear, was also added to the transept. The great South Porch was recased, the west side being in one place ingeniously chamfered in order to avoid interference with the aisle window; the outer arch, wisely reproducing the round of the Norman, is in harmony with the adjoining structure, and two heads of monsters form the labels, whilst two others of huge dimensions dominate above. Over the porch there is a parvis with an open parapet of the 14th century, and a newel staircase which communicates also with the nave aisle. The adjunct on the east side is an unseenly eyesore. Two aisle windows rebuilt on the south, and one gabled on the

north, received also Decorated tracery, and were no doubt added to throw light on the roodloft in the interior, just as Bishop Nyx added a large window at Norwich.

The Perpendicular period brought with it numerous changes: the two eastern bays of the aisles were enclosed with stone parcloses, almost Decorated in their tracery: a huge west window, with four transoms, was erected over a square-headed doorway, with spandrels inserted within the old Norman arch. The central tower was designed to receive a stone vault, and fragments of its foliated pendentives remain—a single Norman window-case is visible on the north side. Unhappily, the monks' ambitious design was attended by a disastrous fall. The Tower had a "mighty high pyramis, a mark to all the country about," says Leland, in 1540, and tradition describes it as loftier by 21ft. than the tall spire of Salisbury: "it fell dangerously in memoriâ hominum, and sins was not re-edified." From the survey it appears that the spire singly fell, leaving the tower and eastern arm without material injury. In 1643 a tourist found "the great high tower at the upper end of the high altar much decayed and ruinated, and the angle there clean decayed;" an old view shows all the four arches standing, but Aubrey tells us* that owing to "so many great volleys of shot, loyally fired on May 29,

* P. 255.

1660, the pillar of the tower and two parts above it fell down that night."

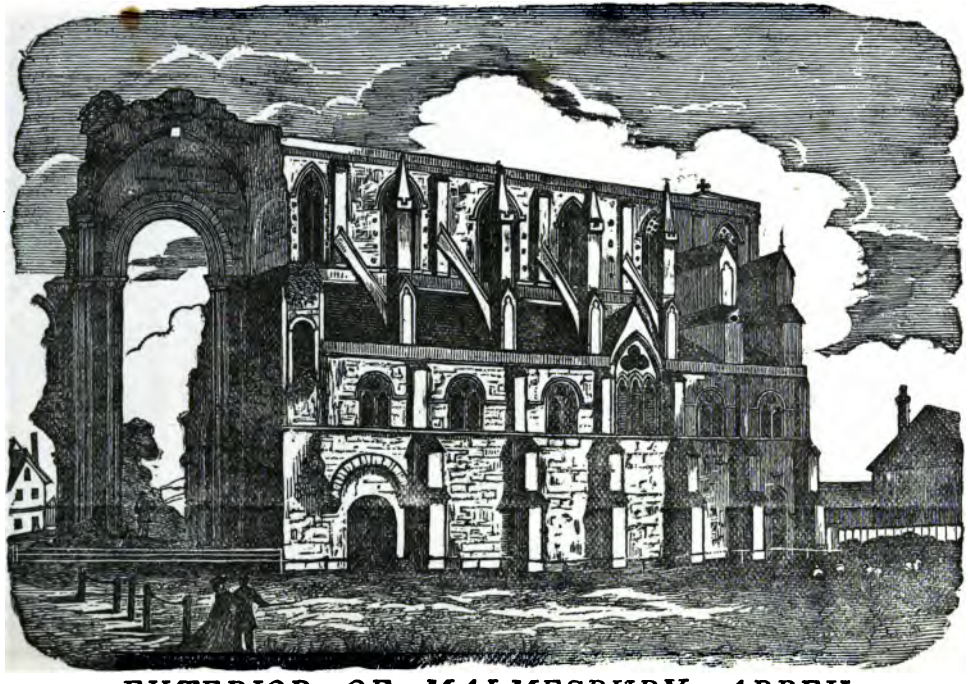
The lower arches at the north and south side were narrower than those facing east and west, and were stilted at the curve into a flattened horse-shoe form The eastern aisle-arches are pointed.

It is impossible to determine the relative share which the fall of the spire, the Parliamentary cannon planted at the "Worthys," and the sacrilegious spoiler of modern days had, in the utter destruction of the eastern limb, with the exception of a fragment clinging to the north-east pillars, which show that it corresponded with the elevation of the nave, except that it had a low arcading below the triforium string. The crossing and transept are now exposed to ignorant desecration, and ought to be decently walled in. Large excavations in 1853 unfortunately have been made with no better result than revealing the concrete foundations from which every hewn stone had been diligently carried away. The so-called effigy of King Athelstan has been removed into the south nave chapel out of a building on the north side of the Presbytery. It had a falconer's glove aud tassels. The head was renewed after the great rebellion. The tomb is Perpendicular. Owing to the wreck which ensued at the suppression, when the church was "appointed to be razed and sold," the screen of the latter part of the fifteenth century, which has a central door, with ornament in the jambs, a battlemented

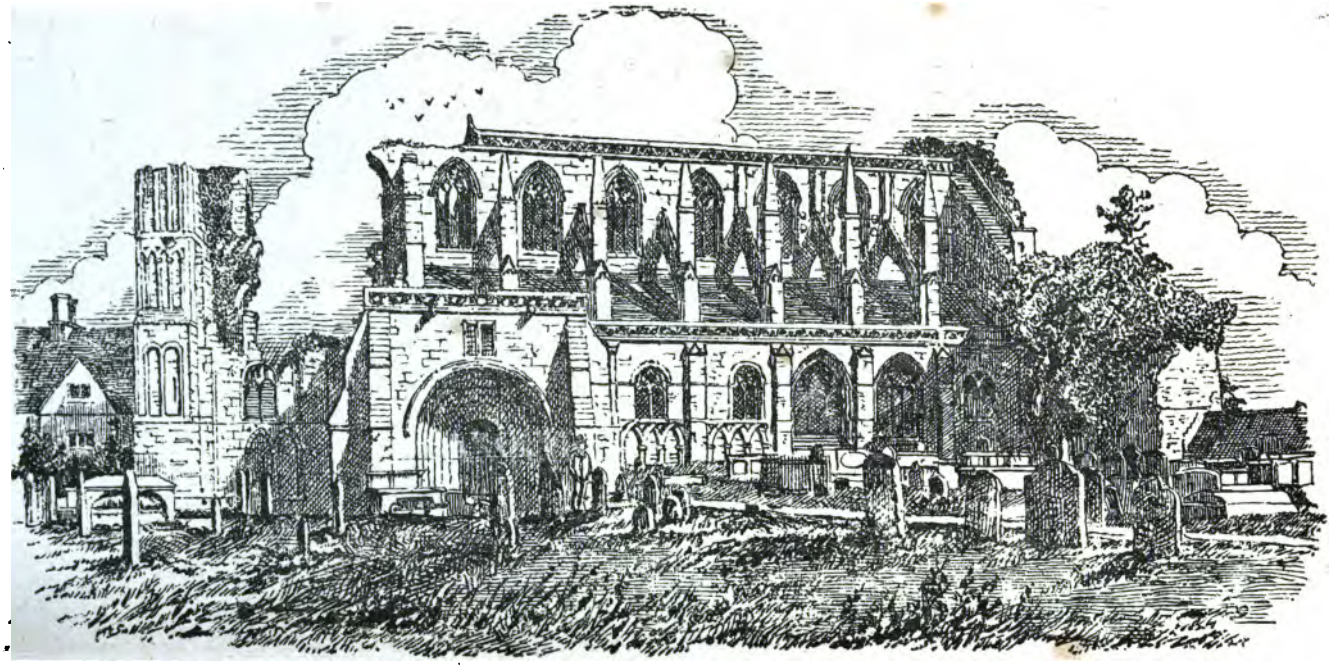
parapet, and a cornice table adorned with the Tudor arms and badges, griffins, and roses, being removed from its original position two bays westward, was inserted under the western arch of the tower. Upon the south side of the nave a stone gallery with square apertures opens from the triforium; it probably formed a watching loft used by the sacristan for overseeing the rood lamp and other lights. It is plain in comparison with the loft in S. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, the Minstrel Gallery of Exeter, and the oriel of Worcester Cathedral.

The lofty clerestory, the triforium with its sub-arches, the grand arcade with bands of ornament, the solid round pillars with scalloped capitals, the vaulting shafts rising from their imposts, and the beautiful stone vaulting of the 14th century form a noble church; but one whole bay has been ruthlessly cut off by an organ loft, and a needless and obtrusive gallery and staircase. The window behind is of the present century.

The two western bays of the nave have suffered, no doubt, under the fire of the Parliamentary troops, which was directed to dislodge the Cavalier garrison who held the remnant of Bishop Roger's castle. The south aisle here retains its wall, and a fragment of quadripartite vaulting with moulded ribs, but has lost one of its pillars; on the north, the whole arcade has been swept away. A Russian gun, which might be well removed to a more becoming site, is planted on part of the area, in this great "chasm of time."



EXTERIOR OF MALMESBURY ABBEY.



The exterior of the building, once, as Leland says "a right magnificent thing," is imposing and grand when viewed from the High Street, with the Market Cross in the foreground; or as seen from the rising ground on the north. The clerestory windows have beautiful studded rosettes at the sides of the flat buttresses in the three eastern bays, which were thus marked out to the eye as forming with the space under the tower, as is usual in Norman churches, the ritual choir. In the bay below the porch there is an additional flying buttress, and the clerestory window has been strengthened, showing that some weakness in construction had been detected, and due precaution used. The west front must have been of great grandeur. According to tradition, preserved by Browne Willis,* the west front was 90ft. in breadth. The north side is wholly gone, with the cellarage and the building which abutted upon the aisle, and the two adjoining buttresses are continued up in all their massive squareness to the clerestory, with simply a finial on their outer face. Leland† says:—"The other tower yet (in 1540) standeth, a great square tower at the west end of the church." As at Leominster and Shrewsbury a later superstructure was erected over the original Norman front, it possibly was built out of the castle ruins which stood "in the cemetery" on the north-west, and would naturally attract the fire of the enemy, and so may have come

* Hist. of Mitred Abbeys, i. 32. † Itin. ii. p. 21.

to its doom—like Samson, bringing down pillars in its fall. It held two bells; above the central lantern was once a peal of ten, with great S. Aldhelm's bell, rung like the bourdon of S. German's, as a "talisman against thunder and lightning,"* to send the tempest from the town into the country. When the "tourist" came in 1634 he found the two great towers (turrets) at the west end quite demolished. Buck's view represents the west doorway as perfect in 1732. To the south there is a turret, with arcading, and some bands most richly ornamented; a round-headed window above an intersecting arcade lighted the aisle; and a superb arch of six orders and with two shafts, sculptured with elaborate designs and medallions, once gave access to the nave, where the labels are formed by grotesque monsters, and the style of ornament—as on the cloister door—is Byzantine in character, if not almost resembling Greek foliage.

The detached tower of the church of S. Paul has been used as the belfry of the abbey since 1541, when Cranmer's license transferred to the parishioners the nave of the minster, after Stumpe, the clothier, had purchased it from the Crown at the cost of £1,500.

A small portion of the intersecting arcade of the basement which went round nave, transept, and western front, below a plain string course, (as in the original design of Durham and Christ Church, Hants)

* Aubrey, p. 255.

remains on the south side of the church, below the short round-headed windows into which mullions were inserted in the 15th century. On the north there was no arcade, Flat pilasters intervene between the round-headed windows of the aisle and in the clerestory which is decorated with very fine flying buttresses of the 14th century.

The Great Porch—11 by 20, and 18ft. high—has an outer arch of eight orders covered with sculptures, c. 1170-1180, The Inner Porch, of the 12th century —17 by 12, and 16ft. high—is arcaded, and on each side are figures seated, with winged angel-figures flying above their heads, The church door is of three orders, 9ft. high and 5ft. broad. The tympanum is filled with a sculpture of our Lord, with attendant angels. On the right side is a holy-water stoup.

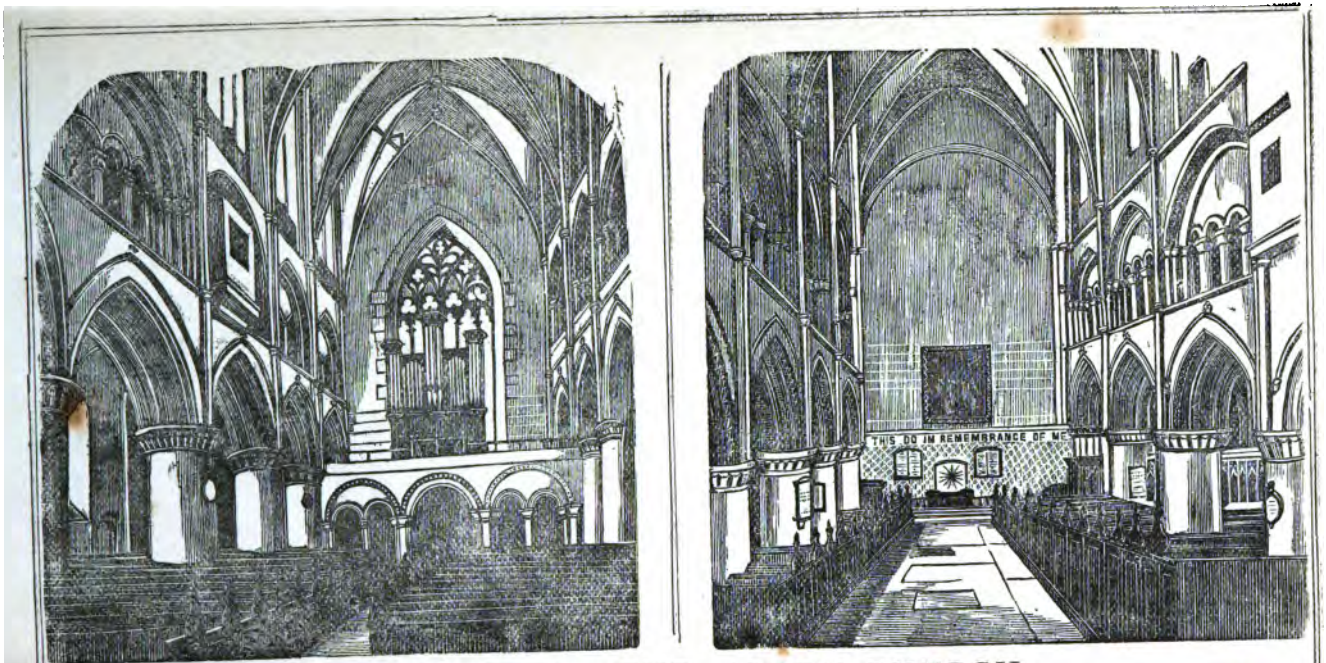
The tourist of 1634, whom I have already quoted, gives the following account of the carvings of the Outer Porch, when they were less defaced than they are now :—

"At the west door, which was her entrance, are curiously cut in freestone the several postures of the months. At the south side of this ancient fabric, at the entrance of a fair porch, there is curiously cut and carved in freestone, in three oval arches, statues representing the Creation, the Deluge, and the Nativity, which, in their artificial postures, I may compare to Wells, though not in number so many nor in bigness so great. And within the same porch, on either side,

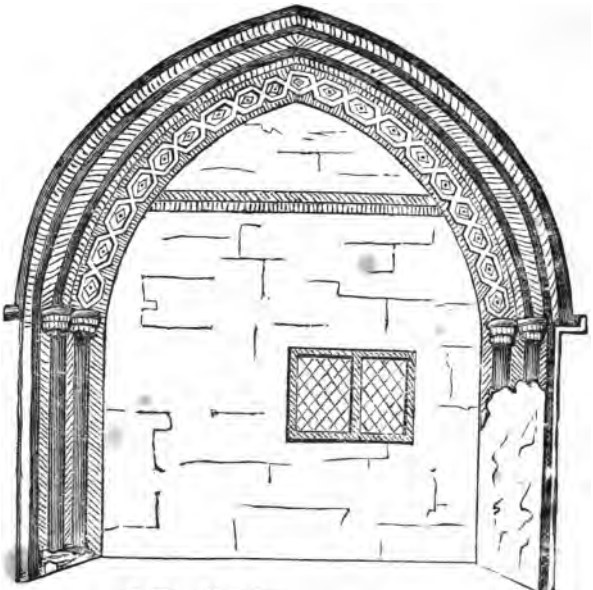
are equally placed the Twelve Apostles, and right over the door entering into the church is Christ on His throne, between two cherubims, which are most artistically cut and carved.

"On the first arch: 1. Defaced quite. 2. Light from chaos. 3. The sea from the land. 4. The Lord sits and beholds. 5. He makes fowls. 6. He makes fish. 7. He makes the beasts. 8. The Spirit moving upon the waters. 9. Adam made. 10. Adam sleeps and woman made. 11. Paradise. 12. Adam left there. 13. Devil tempts Eve. 14. They hide themselves. 15. God calls to them. 16. God thrusts them out. 17. A spade and distaff given. 18. Adam digs; Eve spins. 19. Eve brings forth Cain. 20. Able tills the earth. 21, 22. Two angels for keepers. 23. Abel walks in the field. 24. Cain meets him. 25. Cain kills Abel. 26, 27, 28. Demolished quite.

"On the second arch: 1, 2. God sits and beholds the sins of the world. 3. Cain is a fugitive. 4. He comes to Eve. 5. An angel. 6. God delivers Noah the axe. 7. Noah works in the ark. 8. Eight persons saved. 9. Abraham offers Isaac. 10. The lamb caught in the bush. 11. Moses talks with his father. 12. Moses keeping sheep. 13. Moses and Aaron striking the rock. 14. Moses reads the law to the elders. 15. Sampson tearing the lion. 16. Sampson bearing the city gates. 17. The Philistines put out his eyes. 18. David rescues the lamb. 19. David fights with Goliath. 20. Goliath slain. 21. An



INTERIOR OF THE ABBEY CHURCH.



ST. JOHN'S ARCH.

angel. 22. David rests himself. 23. Defaced quite. 24. David walks to Bethoron. 25. David's entertainment there. 26, 27. Demolished quite.

"On the third arch: 1, 2. Defaced quite. 3. John the forerunner of Christ. 4. Michael the archangel. 5. The angels come to Mary. 6. Mary in childbed. 7. The three wise men come to Christ. 8. They find Him. 9. Joseph, Mary, and Christ go into Egypt. 10. Christ curses the fig-tree. 11. He rides on an ass to Jerusalem. 12. He eats the Passover with His twelve apostles. 13. He is nailed to the cross. 14. Laid in the tomb by Joseph. 15. He riseth again. 16. He ascendeth into heaven. 17. The Holy Ghost descending ou the Apostles. 18. Michael overthrows the devil. 19. Mary mourning for Jesus. 20, 21, 22, 23. Demolished quite.

It will be interesting here to compare the independent readings of the tourist of 1634* and Professor Cockerell of our own time. The porch, which in general appearance strikingly resembles that of Sherborne, has eight ornamental ribs of Caen stone. There are seventy subjects,† thirty-eight of these on the voussoirs of the arches illustrating the history of the Old and New Testaments; thirty-two on the piers are in ovals surrounded by scrolls of foliage, which represent the signs of the zodiac and the labours of the four seasons, (as on the choir ceiling of Salis-

* Lansd. MS. 213. † Drawings In the Libr. Soc. of Antiq. of London.

bury, and the capitals at Carlisle,) showing the work of God in His church and His providence over the world of nature, and Professor Cockerell enumerates eleven subjects on the first, or inner arch.* His view agrees with numbers 9, 10, 11, 13 (interposing the Fall), 14, 15, 16, 17, and 25, omitting the rest, and instead of 23, reading Abel's sacrifice, but he alludes now to the almost undecipherable illustrations of the Works of the Six Days. In the subjects of the second arch he is at one with the description of numbers 6, 7, 8 9, 10, 13, 15, 16, 18, and 19, omitting the rest with three reservations, that number 1 is God's command to Noah; 11 is the Burning Bush, and 14 Moses' Rod. As regards the outer arch, commencing with number 5 he is agreed omitting the Pentecost, and between 9 and 11 interposes Disputing with the Doctors and The Betrayal.

One building now lost must be mentioned—"a little church joining to the south side of the transeptum of the abbey church, a very old piece of work;" where Duns Scotus was assassinated by his scholars, as Leland describes it. Against the south wall there are still traces of a weather moulding, and Browne Willis gives the length of the transept as 100ft., thus leaving about 20ft. to be accounted for, which may well have formed the width of this little chapel, which was filled at the Dissolution with weavers' looms.

* Sculptures of Wells, App. D. 41-43.

The west wall of the transept shows the old Norman arrangement, an intersecting arcade below round-headed windows, and a triforium consisting of a large arch with two narrow lateral arches in each bay. The window arch of the clerestory is also visible, though now blocked by the staircase.

THE CONVENTUAL BUILDINGS.

The position of the abbey was exceptional, though it bore a general resemblance to S. Alban's. The town occupied the crest and slopes of a hill, and the domestic buildings abutted on a decline towards a small stream—the Ver at S. Alban's, the Newnton at Malmesbnry;—so that the refectory must have presented a noble appearance from the opposite hill, much as the "Abbey-house" rising grandly from the river bank now. A square of 104ft. composed the cloister garth, so that the refectory was about 30ft. in breadth, occupying the northern skirt of the table-land. From necessities of the site and the position of the stream, the cloister was on the north side, as at Gloucester, Chester, S. Augustine's, and the Cathedral at Canterbury, Sherborne, and several houses of the Cistercians and Austin Canons. Whatever may have been the case on the other sides, on the north the absence of corbels is due to the refacing of that side. A fragment of incipient vaulting in the N.E. angle probably indicates the suspension of a grand project of stone-vaulted alleys which was

interrupted. The cellarage abutted upon the north aisle, and the two adjoining buttresses are continued up in all their massive squareness to the clerestory, with simply a finial on the outer face. The western bay contains a plainly-moulded Norman doorway reached by steps; whilst one on the east, with a highly-ornamented arch, gave place to a second Perpendicular doorway, richly foliated in times of prosperity.

In 1634 the tourist saw "sad ruins on the north side of the church," and about 1650 Aubrey speaks of the kitchen standing on the north-west side on four strong free-stone pillars.* Now not a fragment of the conventual buildings, which covered six acres, are to be seen; but the mill is still at work; S. Aldhelm's well will afford a cool drink to the pilgrim to the site of his hermitage; the sites of the dove-house, and the vineyard on the slopes of the Worthys—which an exiled Greek archbishop, Constantine, planted early in the 11th century†—and the stewponds adjoining the Newnton Water, are still pointed out; but the ground has been harried to its last wrought stone.

The great abbey gate was northward of the Market Cross. The White Lion Inn is believed to have formed a portion of the Guest-house.

* P. 260. † Wm. Malm., v. 260.

At the close of the 13th century all the Conventual Buildings were restored by Abbot Walter de Colerne; and we can group them together round the Cloister and Church. Next to the Abbot's garden he built the great HALL; and a lesser HALL (probably the Misericord which is mentioned on another page) against its gable, roofed with slabs; he formed a CHAMBER out of the former hall; next the Hall he built a KITCHEN, and rebuilt the walls of the LARDER and tiled it and covered it with stone shingles. Having bought some messuages adjoining the abbot's garden he planted on their site a vineyard which he enclosed with a stone wall. Towards the King's Wall and next the vineyard he made a herb garden. The garden of the Abbot was planted with vines and filled with orchards. He took a piece out of the market place for a carpenter's shop which he enclosed with a stone wall, and next to it he erected two houses; he repaired the INFIRMARY with beams and braces and in part the wall, roofing it with slabs; he then pulled down the DORMITORY even to its walls, and upon them on either side built an alure or passage, renewed the timber work and roofed it with slabs; he also demolished the CHAPTER HOUSE to its walls and rebuilt it with new materials, roofed it with slabs and compassed it with an alure. Afterwards he made three windows in the GREAT HALL; he made a granary next the BAKEHOUSE, and threw into the CELLARAGE the older garner. The old BREW-

HOUSE he threw down to its walls, and made it wholly new in walls and timber work; on the west side of it he built a Stable for the horses of the Long Wain; he renewed the Fabrica or Workshops, and covered them with stone. Between the PRISON and the SACRISTAN'S STABLE he built a house, one part being allotted to the poor and the other portion as stables; near the Guests' Stable he also built a stable, he made the Mill; he built S. ALDHELM'S CHAPEL in the garden, and three ovens adjoining the CONVENT KITCHEN; he rebuilt the Abbot's Chamber, and also the INFIRMARY from their foundations. The water system was provided by means of a conduit, and the stream flowed into the lavatory on S. Martin's day, 1284. The Almonry was within the East Gate, and on the north side of the street leading to Wynierd's Gate and S. John's Hospital; its site seems to have been occupied by the so-called "Banquetting House." The Chapter House was below the Dormitory; the Lesser Hall was probably the Misericord, a hall in which the convent by turns ate meat with two courses at dinner and one pittance at supper; but, at least, thirteen monks were to dine in the Refectory, over and above the Abbot's guests.*

The Vineyard occurs at Rochester, Bath, Gloucester, Tewkesbury, Pershore, Beaulieu, and on several other monastic sites. The only portion of these

* Exchequer, Q.R. Chart. xxiv. ff. 2., 4 b., ii, 12, b. 13, 72.

buildings which survives is the great Hall of the Infirmary, which had beds arranged in the northern alley, whilst meals were served in the south aisle It forms under the so-called "Abbey-house" an undercroft of seven bays of Early Decorated date, as at Battle, with a single row of central pillars. The real floor lies twelve feet below the present tiled pavement, and a doorway once opened on a pathway to the mill and river. The vaulting shafts are octagonal with plain capitals; the windows, broad lancets, have foliated rear arches; above it is an Elizabethan house.

At the time of his visit, Leland says, "every corner of the vast houses of office which belonged to the abbay be fulle of lumbes to weve clothe yn.* Mr. Stumpe pulled down other portions to make streets to house his workmen, so within a century after, the Tourist, whom I have quoted before, saw "only ruins of that large, spacious, strong, and famous abbey on the north side of the church, to manifest what her beauty was in her flourishing time."

The buildings alone had covered six acres, and forty acres were occupied by the conyger or warren, the convent-garden, orchards, and meads. The fate of the Library of which Leland has given a scanty

* Itin. ii. 52.

catalogue* has been piteously recorded by Aubrey. Thus he writes: "In my grandfather's days the MSS. flew about like butterflies. All musick bookes, account bookes, copie bookes, etc., were covered with old MSS., and the glovers at Malmesbury made great havock of them; and gloves were wrapt up, no doubt, in many good pieces of antiquity. Mr. W. Stump, the great grandson of the clothier had severall MSS. of the Abbey, and when he brewed a barrell of speciall ale his use was to stop the bunghole under the clay, with a sheet of MS".†

In order to give a probable idea of the arrangement of the Cloister buildings, it may be sufficient to note that in the middle of the 10th century, at Croyland, the west side of the Great Court was formed by the bakehouse and brewery; the great stable with the lodgings of the servants over it; and the great granary with grain above, and the store of agricultural instruments below. On the south was the guest hall with its two great chambers; on the east the tailory, the Laybrothers' hall, and the Abbot's lodgings, which formed the west side of the Monks' cloister; on the north was the great gate with the poor men's hostel to the east, the only building of stone. The infirmary with a chapel and bath house was detached.‡ The chapter house would adjoin the eastern alley of the

* Collect. iii. 157. † Nat. Hist. of Wilts, 78, 79.
‡ Ap. x. Script. 888.

Cloister, and the Refectory face the nave of the Minster-church. The Dormitory in many monasteries, as at Durham and Worcester, adjoined the west alley, and the Library at Worcester and Norwich was in close proximity with the Church and Cloister. Here the Dormitory is mentioned in connection with the Chapter-house, and the Refectory with the Library.

DESTRUCTIVENESS AT THE SUPPRESSION.

The destruction of the manuscripts and convent library (once presided over by William of Malmesbury, precentor and historian of the Abbey) is a amentable and degrading tale. For nearly a century the brutal waste went on, and only one MS. is still preserved in the neighbourhood. Years after the dissolution a traveller passing through the town found that even the bakers had not consumed all the Abbey books in heating their ovens. Superstitious fanaticism also destroyed many a priceless volume.

MALMESBURY HOSTEL AT OXFORD.

The monks of Malmesbury had a hostel for their studious monks in the University, which has given its name to Oxford Street. And on the south side of the great quadrangle at Worcester College, over one of the doors may still be seen the Griffin Sergeant of Wessex, which was borne for its arms by the Abbey.

In 1258, three monks of Malmesbury, on the morrow of S. Clement came to take up their abode at Oxford, and one was instituted perpetual prior by John Gifford, Baron of Bromfield (founder of Gloucester College, Oxford), afterwards buried at Malmesbury, 1299.*

In 1423 the Abbot was complained of by the Prior of Studies at Oxford before the Great Chapter of the Order on account of his remissness in sending up his scholars.† In the 13th century at home they had a rector of the schools, as the great monasteries provided the only means of instruction, except of course in the Universities, which had the inconvenience of throngs of students under an imperfect discipline.‡ In 49 Edward III. they allowed the Abbey of Bury St. Edmund's to build a chamber for student monks in their Priory in Stockwell Street, Oxford.

In 1298, when the first Benedictine took the degree of D.D. at Oxford, he was attended by the whole of his convent from Gloucester, the Abbots of Westminster, Evesham, Abingdon, Reading, and Malmesbury, and one hundred noblemen and esquires on horses richly caparisoned, and the guests were entertained at a sumptuous feast in the Refectory.§

The elere yerely value of all the possessions belonging to

* Ann. Wrgorn. iv. fos. 539, 541.
† Reyner, P. iii. p. 177.
‡ Harl. MS. 638, fo. 250.
§ Oxoniana i. 38.

the seid late monastery, spiritual and temporall, over and besides lxxvij^{li} xiij^{s}. iiij^{d}; in ffees, annuytees and corodes, graunted to diverse patentes by lettres patents for term of liff cccxxx^{li}. xv^{s}: ob.

Whereof

Pencyons assigned to the late Religious despatched [to be paid half-yearly, at Lady-day and Michaelmas].

Robert Frampton al. Selwyn late abbott	cxxxiij^{li}.	vj^{s}.	viij^{d}.
John Coddrington, bachelorof Divinytie and Prior...	x^{li}.		
Thome Tewksbury, Senior...	vj^{li}.	xiij^{s}.	iiij^{d}.
Ralf Sherwood	vj^{li}.		
Phillip Bristoll	vj^{li}.	xiij^{s}.	iiij^{d}.
Richard Ashton, farmerer [Infirmarer]	vj^{li}.		
John Gloucester [tierce Prior]	vj^{li}.	xiii^{s}.	iiij^{d}.
Walter Jaye, Steward of lands and chambers	xiiij^{li}.	vj^{s}.	viij^{d}.
Richard Pilton, Steward to thabbot...	vj^{li}.	xxx^{s}.	iiij^{d}.
Anthony Malmesbury, Sub-sexton ...	vj^{li}.		
William Alderley	vj^{li}.		
John Cawline, Warden of the Lady Chappell...	viij^{li}.		
Thomas Dorseley	vj^{li}.		
Thomas Gloucester	vj^{li}.		
Walter Sutton, Bachelor of Divinytie and Subprior...	x^{li}.		
John Horseley, Chaunter	vj^{li}.		
Thomas Stanley, Pitanciar	vj^{li}.		
William Bristowe	vi^{li}:		
Thomas Fforster, Priest and Student	vj^{li}.		
Robert Elmore, Priest	vj^{li}.		

William Winchcombe ... ... vj$^{li.}$
William Besley ... ... vj$^{li.}$

cclxxix$^{li.}$ vj$^{s.}$ viii$^{d.}$

So remayneth clere cl$^{li.}$ xiii$^{s.}$ vij$^{d.}$ ob.

The following annuities and corrodies were paid in 1553:—

Richard Assheton ... ... vj$_{li.}$
Walter Jaye ... ... xiii$^{li.}$ vj$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$
Anthon Malmesbery ... ... vi$^{li.}$
Walter Suttonne ... ... x$^{li.}$
John Horseley ... ... v$^{l.}$
Thomas Stanley... ... ... v$^{li.}$
Thomas Froster... ... ... vj$^{li.}$*

Corrodies were allowances of food and clothing with which great persons and patrons saddled the abbey for the discharge of paid officers, such as a Receiver and Chief Steward, for the maintenance of poor pensioners; thus Sir Henry Long received seven whole loaves and as many flagons of beer weekly, as hereditary bailiff of Charlton Wood.†

The Survey, in a very full and rare form, has been fortunately preserved, together with minute particulars of the Grant of the site:‡

Records and Evydences remayne in the Threasury there salfely to be kept to thuse of the King's Magestie. The keyes thereof bene delevred to Richard Poulett Esquier,

* Cardinal Pole's Pension Book, fo. xxvii. † Val. Eccles ii, 122; Harl. MS. 433. ‡ Augm. Office, 494, ff. 39-44.

receyvor. Houses and buyldyngs appointed to remayn undefaced. The late Abbott's lodging with the New lodging adjoyning, into the Kitchyn, larder, Buttre, and Payntre, with the lodgings under the same, and houses and offices with the lodgings thereon bylded, pertaining to the late Abbott's Stable, with the Woole house, the barne at Spettell [hospital] gate, the Gatehouse which encloseth the Inner Courte, and the Gatehouse which encloseth the Utter Courte, the Gate and the houses over the same enclosinge the quadrante of the sayde buyldyngs, the same at the Spettell Gate, and the Utter Gate houses of the Roll Courte, priced at xl$^{li.}$ the custodie and ferme thereof graunted to Sir Edward Bayntun, Knt. Demed to be superfluous, appointed to be rased and solde. The Church, cloister, and chappells adjoyning, l$^{li.}$;* the Dormytory with the Chapterhouse c$^{s.}$; Frayter and Lybrary, c$^{s.}$; Infirmary with all thes lodgings to them adjoyning, xiii$^{li.}$ vi$^{s.}$ viij$_{d.}$; the Cellarer, Chambre, the Sextrey End, xl$^{s.}$; the Squere Chambre Seint Maryhouse, with the Chauntlery; the Convent Kitchn with all the Sextrey ende, the Styward's lodging, the Storehouse, the Slattehouse, the Gestyn Stable, with other houses adjoyning, and the Steward's lodgings, and all the oder houses in the Utter Courte, xl$^{li.}$; comytted unto the custodie of William Stumpe deputie to Sir Edward Bayntun Knt., their salfely to be kepte to thuse of the King's Magestie The Fermery Orchard, the Chamberers Orchard, the Dovecot, the Mere, the Mill, 18 acres enclosed with a wall of stone and hedges, etc., lx$^{li.}$

Leades remayning upon the Church [nave], Quere, Iles

* Partic. of Grant to Will. Stumpe, February 24th, 35 Hen. VIII.

Steplez, ffrayter, Chaptrehouse, Our Lady Chapell, the late Abbott's lodging, and oder houses there, esteemed to be cxx ffoders.

ML.

Belles remayning in the Steplez there ix, pos. by estim. xv weight.

Juelles reserved to the use of the King's magestie, myters garnesshed with silver gilte, small peerles and counterfette stoones. Ornamentes reserved none.

Plate of silver reserved to the King's Majesties use
- Silver gilt clxxiiij oz.
- „ parcell gilte ccv. oz.
- xx
- „ whyte ciiij. oz.

Sum of all the ornaments, goodes and catalles solde by the seide Comyssioners as by a boke of the particler sales thereof made redy to be shewed more at large may appere ccxi$^{li.}$ [ccviii erased] xiiij$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$ with lii$^{s.}$ for iij oxen taken by Sir Anthony Hungerford Knight, Sheref of Wiltes by way of distresse.

Payments to xxj late religious persons of the same late monastery of the King's Majesties reward xlvij vj viiij. to liiij persons, being officers and servauntes in the seid late monasterie for their wagez and lyveres xxxiiij$^{li.}$ xvj$^{s.}$

xx

iiij$^{li.}$ ij$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$

Ffor debtez owing by the seid late monastery to deverse persons as well for malte and other victualles hadde of theym as for other necessaries to thuse of the late house viij$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$ and to the late Abbott there for the residew of all the dettes owing by the late house by hym to be paid and

discharged, the dettes owing to Katheren Audelett, Anthony Hungerford, Knight, and Will. Button, only accepted by covenaunte made betwene the seid Comyssioners and the seid Abbott in greate lxx$^{li.}$ vij$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$, lxxvlij$^{li.}$ v$^{s.}$ Soo remayneth clere li$^{li.}$ v$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$ [xlviij$^{d.}$ v. viij, erased] dettes owinge to the late monastery, Henry Longe, Knyght, by obligacon with condycon endorsed bering date Oct. xxix. in the xxix yere of King Henry VIII$^{th.}$ ffor the payment of ccx$^{li.}$, wherof was confessed to be receyved by the late abbott of the monastery and remayneth unpaid clx$^{li.}$ which sum is assigned to pay to Katheryn Audelett, widow.

Dettes owing the late monastery to Katheryn Audelett, widow, late wyff of Thomas Audelett by the severall obligaconz cont' the sum of ccx$^{li.}$ whereof paid cxxx$^{li.}$ and remain unpaid cxxiiij$^{li.}$

Anthony Hungerford, Knight,* by oblegacon xxxiij$^{li.}$, Will. Button, gent. as well for arrergez of annuytes xxxij$^{li.}$, and corrodies as ffor money borowed xxxj$^{li.}$ as is confessed by the late abbott lxiij$^{li.}$

ccxlvj$^{li.}$

Also the said abbott† shall have, over and above, an annuity of 200 marks, one tenement in the Brodd Street within the town of Bristole, and the garden lying in the suburbs of the said town against the Crosse, called the Red Crosse, for the terme of liffe of the said late abbott.

Stumpe gave "for the scite of the house of Malmesbury

* Sir Anthony of Black Bourton, Oxon, Knt., his son, Sir Giles is buried in Salisbury Cathedral. (See Antiq. of Salisbury, 59).

† Misc. Books Augm. Off. Vol. 234, ff. 241-245.

"with all the edificacions of the same the garden and "orcharde valued at ciii$^{li.}$ vii$^{s.}$ with all the churche, dorter "ffrater, cloyster, chapter-house, the garden and orcharde "the leade and bells reserved, rated at ccxlvj$^{li.}$ xiij$^{s.}$ iij$^{d.}$ "the whole with the woods, mcxvii$^{li.}$ xv$^{s.}$ ij$^{d.}$

The falsehoods written for a purpose, and spread by the Royal Commissioners, with regard to the monks—whom they often describe as criminals stained with un-English vices, and destitute of religion, truth, and honour—have been made to recoil on the heads of the inventors by the fact that, where it was possible, the members of a religious community were continued as members of a new foundation, or in case of total suppression, as at Malmesbury, were pensioned off as deserving men.

A great historic fact often put out of consideration must be borne in mind; the monks loyally as Englishmen signed their acknowledgment of the King's supremacy; they, with Christian resignation, surrendered, not to law, but to the tyranny of the royal will all their possessions; but the change in religion did not begin until the succeeding reign with the publication of the first reformed Prayer Book. Malmesbury was one of the "Greater Monasteries in which, thanks be to God, religion was right well observed and kept up" as the preamble to the act of spoliation* averred, when it lawfully suppressed the smaller houses. No

* 27 Hen. viii. c. 28.

breath of slander ever rested upon it; it was one of the fullest at the time of its fall, though by no means the first in point of wealth. The solitary arch and the grey majestic walls of the nave tell the sad story of desolating violence which did good to none. Bale mourned over the irreparable loss of precious volumes; Latimer and Roland Lee pleaded for the maintenance of these foundations, under new conditions; Godwin and Camden, Strype, Fuller, and Stowe, Hallam, Maitland, and Schlegel, bear witness to the general cry of lamentation at home, or the debt of gratitude which Europe owed to the great Benedictine Order when exiled from its home. But as the monks of Malmesbury passed away out of the beautiful House of their Fathers, they bore along with them the fairest inheritance which earth can give, and enemies are powerless to deny, in leaving a good name behind them.

As an additional assistance in determining the position of the conventual building, the lease granted by the King to Edward Baynton, late Chief Steward of the abbey, for twenty-one years, from June 12, 1541, mentions, "the mansion called Le Newe Lodging," all the houses of office, and the abbot's stable, the wool-house, the barn next Spital Gate; the Fernery orchard, containing fifteen acres, the dove cot, the water mill, and a stable adjoining, Le Mere pasture and the Chamberer's orchard near the Mill and West Mill mead. It also speaks of Dolemead for the

distribution at the Almonry Gate, the quarry-field, Priestlands and Daniel's Mead.*

The Spital Gate may have been the archway which is remembered as standing in the narrow street leading from the cross to the abbey house.†

The condition of Malmesbury after the dissolution, with its wholesale robbery and rapine, is one which we cannot contemplate without shame. The town was left in spiritual destitution, whilst Stumpe designed to make streets for his workmen on the site of the cloisters, or banquetted the hunting party of his godless and ruthless patron, who comprised in his own person an Attila and a Nero. He is said, however, by Leland, to have been "the chief causer and contributor to have the Abbey Church made a parish church," that is, the nave, as we learn from the license of Archbishop Cranmer, the rest he destroyed. In the 8th year of Queen Elizabeth Henry Knyvett, by a deed confirmed the use of the Abbey Church to the townspeople.

Chantry or Vicarage of Westport MALMESBURY for j chaplain; from lands and tenements, iiij$^{li.}$ xviij$^{s.}$ [John Wymboll, stipendiary; clear cxiiij$^{s.}$ ix$^{d.}$, goods lx$^{s.}$ out of the late Monastery and occupied himself in bringing uppe younge children in learninge. He hath a pencyon of vj$^{l.}$ Malmesbury is a great towne and but ij parrishe churches,

* Misc. Books Augm 420, fo. 116.

† Aubrey's North Wilts, Notes p. 260.

wherein be DCCCLX people which receyve the Blessed Communyon and no preeste to helpe the vicars in administracon of the sacramentes saving the stipendary prestis wherefore the parysshioners desire ths Kinges most honourable Councell to consyder hit accordinglye.*

Westporte left with a Chalice or Cuppe, v oz.; Bells, ii and Sanctus bell; in plate to the King's use, ix di.

A Priest in St. Paul's Church, Malmesbury; clear viji. xis. Thos. Wassheborne, stipendiary.

I conclude the volume with a list of

THE ABBOTS OF MALMESBURY.

In the reign of Edward III. the abbot was named as one of twenty-five Benedictine Superiors who were to be summoned to Parliament; and in 1379 he was suffered to have the honour of a mitre.†

S. Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, died 709
Aldhelm II. his nephew, c. 745.
Athelard, Archbishop of Canterbury, 790-803; Bishop of Winchester, 780.
Cuthbert, c. 796.
c. 970 Elfric, Bishop of Crediton, 977-985.
„ Athelwerd, c. 980.
„ Keneidard.
„ Brihtelm.
„ Brihtwold I.

* Certif. of Charities, Wilts, 56, n. 45, 46; 58, n. 35, 36; 59, n. 29, 30.

† Fuller's Ch. Hist., B. vi, 292. Wilkins' Concilia iii. 142-4. MS. Harl. 7520, fo. 12.

c. 970 Ederic.

„ Wlsine.

980 Egleward, for ten years.

Elurne, for one year and a half.

Brihtwold II., his grave in S. Andrew's was haunted by "fantastic shadows" and he was cast into a marsh.

Brihtric, prior, displaced after seven years became Abbot of Burton.

Turold, monk of Fecamp, translated to Peterborough to resist Herewald the Wake, in 1070, died 1098.

1070-81 Warin, monk of Lira.

1081 Godfrey, monk of Jumieges, he wore a brazen ring round his body, died 1105; he was a great promoter of the Library. The Gospel books, shrines, and crosses were stripped of their jewels to pay a tax to Rufus.

1106 Edulf, monk of Winchester, removed by Bishop Roger of Sarum, 1118, died December, 1139.

1140 John, monk, died Sept. 1140. Robert, a robber chief, came from Devizes Castle and attempted to destroy the Abbey.

1141 Peter.

1162 Gregory.

1180 Osbert Foliot, prior of Gloucester, died 1181.

1181 Nicholas, monk of S. Alban's, prior of Wallingford, deposed 1187.

1187 Robert, or Richard de Melun, sub-prior of Winchester, died in 1208.

1218 Walter Loring, died 1222.

1222 John the Welshman, present at the signing of Magna Charta.

1246 Geoffrey.

1260 William de Colerne, died 1296. He planted vineyards, laid out gardens, made fish ponds, and on his anniversary, like good K. Witlaf, at Croyland, had a cask of the best wine broached, that they who drank of it might remember the donor in their prayers as in their recreation.

1296 William de Badminton, died in 1324.

1324 Adam, died in 1339.

1339 John de Tintern, died in 1348.

1348 Simon de Aumeney, died in 1360.

1360 Walter Camme.

1395 Thomas de Chelesworth, died 1423.

1424 Robert Pershore, died 1434.

1434 Thomas Bristow, died 1456.

1456 John Andover, died 1462.

1462 John Aylee, died 1479.

1480 Thomas Olveston, died 1509.

1533 Richard Frampton or Selwyn.

His arms were Arg. within a bordure engrailed gu.; on a bend cotised, sa., 3 roundels, of the field.

The abbot was summoned to Parliament in 49, Henry III.* In Edward IIIrd's time his name appears as twenty-second on the roll,† but it is absent on the coronation roll in 1515, printed by Willement. Abbot Colerne's portrait in his Register represents him with a staff; but the Papal bull which grants the ring, mitre, glove, tunic, dalmatic, and other insignia, at mass and divine offices, processions, and councils, says that though Malmesbury was an exempt and royal abbey, with a revenue of six million florins of gold, it had hitherto neglected to ask for this distinction.‡

Among the memorable monks were Daniel, who resigned the See of Winchester after a tenure of 43 years, and retired hither, where a spring still retains the memory of his long night watches; Faricius, physician to the queen and abbot of Abingdon, and§ Elmer, the æronaut, or flying philosopher, who made himself wings and having launched forth from a lofty tower, fell to the ground, and broke both his legs. The same fool-hardy attempt was made by the last abbot of Tongland, and in the 17th century by a monk of Tubingen, and Dante of Perugia.

The arms of the Abbey were (1.) The Royal Arms of England and the Griffin Segreant of Wessex; and

* Stevens' App. ii. 12. † Fuller Ch. Hist. B. vi. sect. ii. 3, 4, p. 182.
‡ Wilkins iii. 143. § De Gest. Reg. lib. ii. c. 13.

(2.) Gu. two leopards of England, or, on a chief, arg. a mitre between two pastoral staffs, ppr.

If speedy conservative measures be not taken to arrest the progress of natural decay and human destructiveness, in some of the ruinous portions now standing, and left without a fence against every kind of foul ill-usage, one of those national monuments which crystallise our history, will suffer a loss which can never be replaced. It is an architectural heirloom, and a sacred trust held for those who shall come after our times.

"Our ancestors did feelingly perceive
What in these holy structures we possess
Of ornamental interest, and the charm
Of pious sentiment diffused afar;
Thus never shall the indignities of Time
Approach their reverend graces unopposed;
Nor shall the elements be free to hurt
Their fair proportions; nor the blinder rage
Of bigot zeal, madly to overturn."

WORDSWORTH.